

JUL 31 1931
The CLASSICAL QUARTERLY and CLASSICAL REVIEW are the organs of the Classical Association. The QUARTERLY is published in January, April, and October (double number); the REVIEW in February, May, July, September, November, and December.

The Classical Review

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LONDON: JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

NEW YORK: G. E. STECHERT & CO., 31-33, EAST 10TH STREET.

Price of the present number, 1s. net. Yearly subscription, 12s. net, post free; U.S.A. \$3. Combined yearly subscription for the CLASSICAL QUARTERLY and the CLASSICAL REVIEW. 25s. net, post free; U.S.A. \$6.25.

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The Classical Review

JULY, 1931

VERSION

UNDERNEATH the growing grass,
Underneath the living flowers,
Deeper than the sound of showers:
There we shall not count the hours
By the shadows as they pass.

Youth and health will be but vain,
Beauty reckoned of no worth:
There a very little girth
Can hold round what once the earth
Seemed too narrow to contain.

CHRISTINA ROSSETTI.

SUPRA uere nouo uirebit herba
Et flos undique uiuidus uigebit:
Nos infra semel in solo sepulti
Nec uerni sonitum audiemus imbris
Nec tardo pede transeuntis umbrae
Horas dinumerabimus fugaces.
Nil uires ibi, forma nil ualebit,
Non ullius erit preti iuuentus;
Et cui uix modo suppetebat orbis
Totus, iam spatio breui iacentem
Angustissima terra continebit.

H. RACKHAM.

OID'S USE OF THE SIMILE.

IN simple diction words are used in their strict sense. But as language develops force is added to the vocabulary by the use of figurative expressions, which produce picturesqueness and elevation. Such expressions aid mental effort by appealing to the eye and the imagination. For, as Longinus remarks, 'figurative language possesses great natural power, and metaphors contribute to elevation in style' (*Περὶ Ὑψους* 32. 6: *μεγάλαι τε φύσιν εἰσὶν αἱ τροπικαί, καὶ ὑψηλοποιὸν αἱ μεταφοραί*). Thus the metaphor (*μεταφορά*, *translatio*) and its fuller development the simile (*εἰκών*, *similitudo*) were devised. In metaphor a descriptive term or name is transferred to an object different from it, but analogous. In simile the comparison of the two objects is fully worked out with descriptive detail. The terse definition of the relation of metaphor to simile given by Aristotle (*Rhet.* 3. 4) has not been surpassed. 'The simile also is a metaphor: the difference is but slight. When he (Homer) says of Achilles that he "leapt on the foe as a lion" (*ὡς δὲ λέων ἐπόρουσεν*), this is a simile; when he says of him "the lion leapt," it is a metaphor. Here, since both are courageous, he has transferred to Achilles the name of "lion."'

It may be noted in passing that it is
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odd that so precise a thinker as Aristotle should quote from Homer as his two illustrative examples expressions not found in our text of Homer. The simile *ὡς δὲ λέων ἐπόρουσεν* seems to be a misquotation of *Il.* 20. 164, *Πηλεΐδης δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐναντίον ὄρτο λέων ὥς*, while the metaphor *λέων ἐπόρουσε* does not occur in Homer. Aristotle often quotes Homer inaccurately, as *Poet.* 22. 7, where for *ἄκις* (*Poet.* 9. 515 he has *ἀεικής*; *Poet.* 25. 10, where he has mixed up two passages *Il.* 10. 1 and *Il.* 2. 1. Philosophers seem to have been partial to misquotation. In *Il.* 24. 527 Homer says that in the house of Zeus stand two jars filled with evil gifts and one with blessings, in the passage as quoted by Plato *Rep.* 379D there is one jar only of each. In *Il.* 11. 833 a potion is given to the wounded Machaon, in Plato's *Rep.* 405D it is given to Eurypylus. The Roman philosopher Seneca frequently shows similar looseness in quoting Virgil: thus for *lucos*, circa (*Georg.* 3. 146) he has *lucum*, iuxta (*Ep.* 58. 2), for in (*Aen.* 5. 354) he has *e* (*Ep.* 66. 2): above all, when discussing the deluge he quotes several lines from Ovid's splendid description in *Metamorphoses*, Book I., among which he actually introduces a piece from another context, *Met.* 2. 264, 'montes et sparsas Cycladas auget,'

which he takes to mean that during the deluge the tops of the mountains protruded in the form of islands (*N.Q.* 3. 27. 13). The words really refer to Phaethon's wild excursion in the chariot of the Sun, which resulted in heat so intense that the sea shrank, and mountains and islands appeared which were unknown before. The explanation of all these discrepancies is the same. Divergences have no textual import. The philosophers quoted by memory to save trouble of verifying references, for the papyrus roll was awkward to manipulate, being kept in a cylindrical case which required opening, and when opened being not easy to handle, as it would not lie readily open on the desk.

Ovid, like all Latin writers, abounds in metaphor. It was no mere literary affectation, but an inherent characteristic of the Latin language; for, as Cicero (*Orat.* 81, *De Orat.* 3. 155) and Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* 8. 6. 6) observed, it was present in the unliterary phraseology of the Italian farmers. Among the examples they quote are 'laetae segetes' and 'agri sitiunt,' expressions well known to Virgil the farmer's son (*Georg.* 1. 1 'quid faciat laetas segetes,' *Georg.* 4. 402 'cum sitiunt herbae'), and which occur in the earliest handbook of agriculture, Cato's *De Re Rustica* (*R. R.* 6. 1 'ubi laetus ager est,' 15. 4 'ubi terra sitiit'). The vocabulary of the language was not only rendered more ornamental and brilliant by the use of metaphor, but was also enriched, for, as Quintilian remarks, the copiousness of the language is increased by the transference of a word from its natural sense to another sense for which no proper word exists ('Transfertur nomen aut verbum ex eo loco, in quo proprium est, in eum, in quo aut proprium deest, aut translatum proprio melius est.' *Inst. Or.* 8. 6. 5).

Two examples of Ovid's use of metaphor may be considered. The first is his use of *viscera* in the passage where Penelope, writing to Ulysses about the havoc wrought in his home by the greedy suitors, says, *H.* 1. 89,

inque tua regnant nullis prohibentibus aula:
viscera nostra, tuae dilacerantur opes.

Here *viscera* has been interpreted 'my heart' (is rent asunder), *i.e.* I am heart-

broken at seeing your substance devoured. But *viscera* in the sense of the feelings is without parallel. To avoid this Palmer explains 'our son (Telemachus) is tortured, your wealth is pillaged.' But though *viscera* is sometimes used of a son or daughter, as in *Met.* 8. 478, 'rogus iste cremet mea viscera,' 'let this pyre burn my own flesh,' *i.e.* my son, there the sense is natural, but here how unnatural is the meaning which results! Apart from the forced zeugma which connects *dilacerantur* with *viscera* and *opes* in the twofold sense of 'tortured' and 'pillaged,' how unnatural is the proposition 'Your son is tortured at the sight of the pillage of your substance'! Penelope tells Ulysses that Telemachus is exasperated at the pillage of his father's substance. But would Ulysses have troubled much about the exasperation of Telemachus? The pillage of his own substance was above all things likely to exasperate personally that eminently self-seeking hero as specially affecting himself. The true solution is that *viscera* stands metaphorically for *patrimonium*, the estate, the worldly possessions, just as *nervi*, *sanguis*, *vires* are often used in that sense. Cicero has the same metaphor *Ad Q. Fr.* 1. 3. 7, 'cum tu de visceribus tuis et fili tui satisfactorius sis, quibus debes,' 'when you propose to pay your debts from your own and your son's resources.' Ovid's couplet then signifies 'The suitors unchecked are masters in your palace: your riches, our very vitals, are devoured.'

The second example is the use of *fulmineus* in the description of the Fabii surrounded and outnumbered at the Cremera, who died fighting to the last with the desperate obstinacy of a wild boar hunted from its remote lair in the Laurentine forest, which scatters the attacking hounds with its murderous tusks, but before long itself is slain, *F.* 2. 231:

sicut aper longe silvis Laurentibus actus
fulmineo celeres dissipat ore canes,
mox tamen ipse perit.

This is translated by Sir James Frazer in his edition of the *Fasti*, 'As a boar, hunted afar from the Laurentine woods, scatters the swift hounds with thunder-

ous snout, but soon himself is slain.' This misses the meaning. For by *ore* is signified not the 'snout' but the 'mouth,' i.e. what is in the mouth, the tusks, and by *fulmineus* not 'thunderous' but 'of the nature of *fulmen*' which means lightning. The Romans denoted thunder by *tonitrus*, the brilliant flash of lightning by *fulgur*, the stroke by which lightning destroys by *fulmen*, which sometimes may be rendered 'thunderbolt' (Seneca N. Q. 2. 57. 3 'fulgur, quod tantum splendet, et fulmen, quod incendit'). Hence *fulmineus* when used metaphorically by Ovid, as before him by Virgil, denotes that which destroys with swift vehemence like a lightning stroke, not merely that which is swift or bright as a flash of lightning. Thus it is a synonym for destructive. So in Virgil *Aen.* 4. 580 'vaginaque eripit ensem fulmineum' and 9. 442 'rotat ensem fulmineum' Aeneas draws and Nisus whirls his 'lightning' i.e. murderous sword; in 9. 812 'ingemnant hastis et Troes et ipse fulmineus Mnestheus' the Trojans hurl darts and foremost among them Mnestheus murderous as lightning. So in Ovid *Met.* 11. 367 'sparsus sanguine rictus, fulmineus' (so Magnus for 'fulmineos') the huge wolf rushes forth 'with blood-bespattered jaws, murderous as the lightning stroke': in *Met.* 1. 305 'nec vires fulminis apro, crura nec ablato presunt velocia cervo' 'neither does the might of his tusks murderous as lightning save the boar nor do his swift legs save the stag': in 10. 550 'fulmen habent acres in aduncis dentibus apri' 'fierce boars possess in their tusks the murderous force of lightning': so *F.* 2. 232 'fulmineo celeres dissipat ore canes,' 'the boar scatters the swift hounds with tusks murderous as lightning.'

In the use of the simile it is interesting to compare Ovid with preceding poets in respect of the number employed, especially with Homer, Apollonius Rhodius and Virgil.¹ The *Iliad* con-

sists of 15,600 lines containing 202 similes; the *Odyssey* of 10,912 lines with only 50 similes. Thus in the whole of the Homeric epics there are 26,512 lines containing 252 similes. In the *Argonautica* of Apollonius there are 5,835 lines with 77 similes, a greater quantity than Homer's in proportion to the number of lines. Virgil is more sparing. In the 9,896 lines of his three great poems there are only 105 similes. These were three poets of restrained and finished taste. Their poetry is truly classical. Its style is austere and reserved. But with Ovid began a revolt against the classical style. Ovid is the leader of the romantic movement. The passionate realism of modern literature first found expression in his verse. But it was not only in passion and sentimentality that he started on the path towards later developments. In him also first is discovered an exuberance of fancy and profusion of language which caused the Latin critic Quintilian to stigmatise him as being 'lascivus in herois quoque' (*Inst. Or.* 10. 1. 88), exuberant in language and ideas not only in his elegiacs but also in his heroic verse, the *Metamorphoses*, and as being 'nimium amator ingenii sui,' unable to restrain his own brilliant talent. He seemed to the sober Latin critics self-willed and impetuous. 'He did not know how to leave well alone,' 'Ovidius nescit quod bene cessit relinquere'—that is the judgement on him by the elder Seneca referring to his style in declamation (*Exc. Controv.* 9. 5).

It is not then surprising that in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in which he challenges comparison with Homer, Apollonius and Virgil, there are 12,015 lines containing 252 similes, as many as are found in the 26,512 lines of the Homeric poems, a greater proportion than that found in Apollonius, and far more than those of Virgil. With how lavish a hand Ovid dispensed his similes is realised when the number in his several works is counted. There are in the

¹ The numerical statistics were compiled by Washietl, *De similitudinibus imaginibusque Ovidianis* (Vindobonae, 1883). I follow him, with some corrections, except that in Ovid I have included as genuine *Ep.* 15 (Sappho), and regarding the number of lines in the *Metamorphoses* I have followed Magnus' critical edition (Berlin, 1914).

<i>Heroides</i> (3,738 lines, ed. Palmer)		
[6 in the <i>Ep. Sapphus</i>]	...	51 similes.
<i>Amores</i> (2,456 lines)	...	38 "
<i>Medicamina Faciei</i> (100 lines)	...	1 "
<i>Ars Amatoria</i> (2,330 lines)	...	61 "

<i>Metamorphoses</i> (12,015 lines)	...	252	similes.
<i>Fasti</i> (4,972 lines)	...	29	"
<i>Tristia</i> (3,532 lines)	...	63	"
<i>Epp. ex Ponto</i> (3,198 lines)	...	56	"
<i>Ibis</i> (642 lines)	...	9	"
<i>Halieutica</i> (134 lines)	...	1	"

This is the authentic canon of Ovid's works. Of the *Heroides* I consider genuine those numbered I-XXI (Cydippe to Acontius) up to the end of line 12. The first twelve lines only of this last epistle are preserved in our good MSS.; lines 13-248 as well as 16. 39-144, Paris to Helen, are found only in late MSS. and early printed editions, and are rejected as the work of an imitator. The first fourteen of the *Heroides* are, I believe, Ovid's original work. The epistle of Sappho probably appeared separately, which accounts for the confusion in the manuscripts as to its place. The later epistles from XVI onwards are a series probably written subsequently to the earlier epistles by the poet when he had won popularity, possibly with the purpose of being performed with dancing by a pantomimus. T. 2. 519,

et mea sunt populo saltata poemata saepe,

'my poems have often been performed publicly by dancers.' The authenticity of the Epistle of Sappho¹ to Phaon has been brilliantly defended, among others, by de Vries in a special edition (Leiden, 1888). It is to some extent peculiar, possibly because when writing it Ovid made a special study of Sappho's poems. But the peculiarities are not such as to prevent its acceptance as genuine. They have been vindicated by Palmer. On the other hand the beauty of the epistle, especially the fine phrase 'abeunt studia in mores' (83), 'tastes (change) pass into character,' proclaims the hand not of an imitator but of the master Ovid. This I think also applies to the opening of line 113,

postquam se dolor invenit,

which has been particularly assailed on account of the unusual caesura, a caesura after the second and fourth arsis, with a spondaic opening. This

¹ It is accepted as Ovid's genuine work by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Sappho und Simonides*, p. 21.

unusual metrical arrangement was designed, I suspect, to produce effect. When Sappho found that Phaon had gone, her grief was such that at first she could not weep or speak. But when at last she slowly realised her sorrow ('postquam se dolor invenit,' 'when her sorrow realised itself')—the slow solemnity of the rhythm indicates the slowness of the process—then she gave free vent to her misery. I find no difficulty also in the use of *dos* in line 146,

vile solum locus est : dos erat ille loci.

The place where Sappho and Phaon had sat together is now valueless. Phaon was the 'dowry' that gave it its value. It is futile to say with critics like Birt that *dos* applied to Phaon is ridiculous, because, though *dos* is used of the gifts of the mind or body, an individual is not termed a *dos*. Ovid is a poet who loves metaphor. He can as well speak of Phaon as the 'dowry' of the place, as he can describe the waves which wrecked the ship in which Ceyx sailed as 'deaths' (*Met.* 11. 538),

quot veniunt fluctus, ruere atque inrumpere mortes,

and as he can speak of the dull apathy that paralysed his faculties when he was banished as 'a cloud over his mind,' *animi nubes* (T. 1. 3. 13), or of the blind ignorance of Tereus as *nox animi*, 'the night that blinds his mind' (*Met.* 6. 652).

Examination of Ovid's similes shows that some of them are original: some are commonplaces of poetry of which it is impossible to trace the exact source: some again are directly borrowed, chiefly from Homer, Euripides, Apollonius Rhodius and Theocritus of the Greek, and Lucretius, Catullus, Horace, Virgil and Propertius of the Latin poets. Though it is not my purpose to trace the sources, but rather to show the poet's facility and fertility in using the simile, I will notice a few direct borrowings. As in Homer (*Il.* 15. 618) the Greeks stand firm against the Trojans like some huge steep rock beside the sea that withstands the swift blasts of winds and swelling waves that break against it, so Achelous fighting

with Hercules (*Met.* 9. 39) stands like a rock battered by the roaring waves, secure and safe through its mere bulk. As (*Od.* 9. 391) the eyeball of Polyphemus hissed around the burning brand of olive like an axe which hisses when plunged by a smith into cold water to temper it, so (*Met.* 9. 170) the blood of Hercules, burnt alive on Oeta, hissed and boiled like red-hot metal plunged into a cauldron of cold water. As the women hung by Odysseus (*Od.* 22. 468) struggled like thrushes or pigeons caught in a net, so, when Bacchus in anger at the murder of Orpheus transformed the Thracian women into trees, they struggled like a bird which, caught in a cunning fowler's snare, flutters, but only draws the bonds tighter by its struggling (*Met.* 11. 73). As Gorgythion slain by Teucer's arrow bowed down his head like a poppy in a garden, which drops its head heavy with seed and water from rain in spring (*Il.* 8. 306); and as (Ovid here borrows also from Virgil *Aen.* 9. 435) the neck of the dying Euryalus sinks down on his shoulder like a fair flower, which droops when its stem has been severed by the plough, or like poppies weighed down with rain, which bow their heads, so the neck of the dying Hyacinthus sinks on his shoulder, as the shrivelled heads of violets, poppy or lilies droop when broken off in a garden (*Met.* 10. 190).

Ovid owes many suggestions to Euripides.¹ The neatly expressed sentiment 'every land is to the brave man his country, as to fishes is the sea, as to the bird all the free air' (*F.* 1. 493),

omne solum forti patria est, ut piscibus aequor,
ut volucris, vacuo quicquid in orbe patet,

is modelled on Euripides *fr.* 1047 (Nauck),

ἄπας μὲν ἀνὴρ ἀλεῖν περὶ πάσις,
ἅπαντα δὲ χθὼν ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ πατρίς.

The legend of Telephus, whose wound was healed by the rust of the spear of Achilles which caused it, was the subject of the celebrated play of Euripides, the *Telephus*. That play particularly

attracted Latin poets. Ennius and Accius both wrote a tragedy *Telephus*. Ovid several times adapts the legend to his circumstances. To his sovereign's anger he owes his banishment, his sovereign, like Achilles, alone can remove it, *T.* 1. 1. 99:

qui mihi vulnera fecit
solus Achilleo tollere more potest.

So also *T.* 5. 2. 15, *P.* 2. 2. 26. To poetry he resorts to remove the anger which his poetry had aroused, *T.* 2. 19:

forsitan ut quondam Teuthrantia regna tenenti,
sic mihi res eadem vulnus opemque feret,
Musaque, quam movit, motam quoque leniet
iram.

He goes also to Latin sources. When he makes Oenone say to Paris 'the elm is not clasped so closely by the clinging vines, as were your arms twined about my neck' (*H.* 5. 47),

non sic adpositis vincitur vitibus ulmus,
ut tua sunt collo brachia nexa meo,

he is inspired by Catullus 61. 106:

lenta quin velut adsitas
vitis implicat arbores
implicabitur in tuum
complexum.

When he compares insatiable craving for wealth to the case of a dropsical patient (*F.* 1. 215),

sic quibus intumuit suffusa venter ab unda,
quo plus sunt potae, plus sitiuntur aquae,

'so they whose belly swells with dropsy grow thirstier the more they drink,' he is echoing Horace's comparison of greed for money to dropsy which increases through self-indulgence (*Hor. Carm.* 2. 2. 13).

It was said by Johnson that a simile, if perfect, must both illustrate and ennoble the subject. The poet with imagery conjured up by his eager imagination adds emphasis to his diction and reality to his description, through comparisons drawn from objects of the material world. Thus he appeals through the imagination to the eye and ear. The beauty of Ovid's style, which is simple and limpid, resembling that of Livy in prose, owes not a little to the frequent introduction of graceful and appropriate similes which decorate and enliven the tissue

¹ Washietl, p. 154. Lafaye, *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide et leurs modèles grecs*, p. 143. Luneburg, *De Ovidio sui imitatore*, p. 78.

of his verse. The construction of his similes is not uniform. It is progressive. It starts from small beginnings and swells into similes of large extent. By small beginnings I mean concise comparisons, tiny cameos consisting of only a word or two, that add picturesqueness to the idea. Such comparisons are introduced by *ut*, *velut*, *similis*, *instar*, *imitatus*. The newly transformed bay-tree's top is as it were (*ut*) its head (*Met.* 1. 566):

utque caput visa est agitare cacumen.

Daphne shrinks from wedlock as from (*velut*) a crime (*Met.* 1. 483):

illa velut crimen taedas exosa iugales.

The curling wave that sinks the labouring vessel exults over it as might a conqueror (*Met.* 11. 553):

illa velut victrix sinuataque despicit undas.

Fickle love is incalculable like (*similis*) the wind (*H.* 19. 96):

similis vento ne tuus erret amor.

The bristles of the Calydonian boar are like stiff spear-shafts (*Met.* 8. 285):

saetae similes rigidis hastilibus;

the cry of the butchered kid is like the wail of an infant (*Met.* 15. 466):

vagitus similes puerilibus;

the sound of reeds stirred by the wind is like a mourner's sigh (*Met.* 1. 708):

sonum tenuem similemque querenti;

the cheeks of a terrified woman are pale like boxwood (*Met.* 11. 417):

buxoque simillimus ora

pallor obit;

the soft hair of his lady is as it were (*instar*, 'in place of') down (*Am.* 1. 14. 23):

lanuginis instar;

the mound of sand on the seashore where he picnics with her is as it were a dinner table (*Am.* 2. 11. 48):

tumulus mensae quilibet instar erit;

Procne tells her husband that leave to visit her sister will be to her as it were a costly gift (*Met.* 6. 443):

magni mihi muneris instar;

the cow-headed goddess Isis appears with horns radiant resembling (*imitata*) those of the moon (*Met.* 9. 783):

*imitataque lunam
cornua fulserunt.*

A further stage in the development of the simile is reached when two things are not merely compared, but emphasis is added by stating that the one transcends the other in intensity. Such similes are introduced by an adjective in the comparative degree. This is a favourite figure with Ovid. The javelins hurled at Perseus, and the stones with which Ovid prays in the *Ibis* that his inveterate enemy may be stoned to death, are not merely many, but are more numerous than hailstones in winter (*Met.* 5. 158, *Ibis* 466). Achilles is not merely cruel, but more remorseless than the waves of the sea (*H.* 3. 133, 'matris ferocior undis') and than war itself (*Met.* 12. 592, 'bello cruentior ipso'). Hippolytus is more heartless than a bull (*H.* 4. 166), Aeolus than his own winds which he controls (*H.* 11. 9), Phaon to Sappho more heartless than rock or sea-wave (*H.* 15. 189), an angry lady more fierce than Medusa (*A.A.* 2. 309, 'violentior Medusa'). Ariadne protests that wild beasts are more merciful than is Theseus (*H.* 10. 1). Pyrrhus is deader than the sea to Hermione's protests (*H.* 8. 9). The doorkeeper at his lady's house is more unyielding than the door itself (*Am.* 1. 6. 62). The speed of Daphne flying from Apollo, and of his hounds pursuing Actaeon, is swifter than the wind (*Met.* 1. 502, 3. 209). The horses of Castor and Pollux are whiter than snow (*Met.* 8. 373), his lady's arms are whiter than snow in Thrace (*Am.* 3. 7. 8), Penelope's loving heart is colder than ice through fear (*H.* 1. 22). When Leander starts forth to swim the strait to visit Hero, the sky is blacker than pitch (*H.* 18. 7). The dragon killed by Cadmus rears erect more upright than a tall pole (*Met.* 3. 78). The force with which Hercules hurls Lichas into the sea is greater than that of artillery in war (*Met.* 9. 218, 'tormento fortius').

A third stage is reached when the simile is complete, but concisely expressed without elaboration of detail. Similes of this sort are largely conventional. They are found chiefly in the elegiac poems, where, being concise, they are an appropriate ornament to a type of verse which is narrow in its compass. Thus the fiery energy of

Dido's love is like that of a sulphur-tipped torch (*H.* 7. 23), of Medea's love for Jason like that of a brand burnt in ceremonial lustration at the altar (*H.* 12. 34):

ardet ut ad magnos pinea taeda deos.

Ariadne quivers through fear like standing corn shaken by the wind (*H.* 10. 139). Laodamia frenzied with anxiety for her absent Protesilaus, and Procris frenzied with jealousy, is like a frenzied Bacchant (*H.* 13, 33, *A.A.* 3. 710). The lover doubting which of two ladies he should woo is like a ship driven by contending winds (*Am.* 2. 10. 9). Anger abates as ice thaws (*A.A.* 1. 374), or as a lady's hair, like leaves, drops off with lapse of time (*A.A.* 3. 162). Ladies' devices are as numerous as the waves that beat on a rock (*Rem.* 691), the dyes which colour their dresses as numerous as flowers in spring (*A.A.* 3. 185). The song of Arion about to plunge into the sea is like that of the dying swan (*F.* 2. 109). Lucretia trembles before Tarquin like a little lamb caught by a ravaging wolf (*F.* 2. 799). The Tyrians flying wildly before the onset of the Moors are like bees flying aimlessly when they have lost their king (*F.* 3. 555). The baby whose blood has been sucked by a vampire, and the poet himself, when sick from the unhealthy climate of Tomis, are pale as autumn leaves (*F.* 6. 150, *T.* 3. 8. 29). The lamentations over Ovid's banishment were like the wailing when Troy was taken (*T.* 1. 3. 26). The storm-tossed ship in which he sailed from Italy is battered by waves as artillery batters a wall (*T.* 1. 2. 47). In exile, because of his sorrows, Ovid's spirit melts away like wax (*P.* 1. 2. 55); it is worn by cares as a ploughshare is by constant use, or as is the Appian Road by the impact of carriage-wheels (*P.* 2. 7. 43). Cares choke the current of his poetic inspiration as mud chokes a spring of water (*P.* 4. 2. 17). He hates the land of the savage Getae as a well-tilled field hates weeds, and as the swallow hates the cold (*P.* 4. 14. 13).

The last stage is reached when the simile is not merely suggested, but elaborated in details. This is the complete simile. It is not found in the

earlier *Heroides*, but appears in the later, especially in *H.* 18, the epistle of Leander to Hero. In the other elegiac poems such complete similes occur to some extent, but they are naturally less elaborate than those in the *Metamorphoses*. A few examples will suffice. The path along which Leander had often swum across the waves is compared to a road dinted by the pressure of many wheels (*H.* 18. 133); as he swims his arms press on eagerly towards the dwelling of Hero like horses towards the goal in the races of Olympia (*H.* 18. 165); he is baffled always when at the point of reaching his end, like Tantalus trying to grasp the elusive fruits and to drink the water which he could not reach (*H.* 18. 181). The poet, hesitating which to adopt of the different etymologies of the month of May, is like a traveller at the crossways who stands doubting and knows not which road to take (*F.* 5. 3; *cp.* Theognis 911 Bergk, ἐν τριόδῳ δ' ἔσσηται κ.τ.λ.). He returns to verse-making, which had been his ruin, yet is still sweet to him, as was the maleficent lotus-flower sweet to the sailors of Ulysses, though it caused them to be indifferent to their return home (*T.* 4. 1. 31, *Od.* 9. 93).

The similes in the *Metamorphoses* are longer and more striking. After the deluge the earth, warmed by the sun's heat, produced spontaneously many strange forms of animal life, just as when the Nile has receded and left its slime on the fields of Egypt labourers turning the soil find many living creatures, some just completed at the moment of birth, others only partially formed with limbs incomplete. This idea seems to have been derived from an Egyptian belief reported by Diodorus (*Met.* 1. 423, Diodor. 1. 10). The sea and ships are a favourite subject. The chariot of the sun driven by Phaethon sways as ships without ballast deviate unsteadily from their course (*Met.* 2. 163). Ulysses claiming that he, rather than Ajax, should receive the prize of the arms of Achilles, urges that he, the wise counsellor, is superior to Ajax, the warrior of unintelligent courage, as the skipper who navigates a ship is more important than the seamen, or the general than the linesmen (*Met.*

13, 365). Sipylus, a son of Niobe, rides furiously to escape Apollo's arrow as, at the sight of an approaching storm, a skipper crowds on all canvas that he may reach port in safety (*Met.* 6. 231). Althaea, about to burn the log on which Meleager's life depends, is driven by conflicting emotions like a ship driven now by wind and now by tide (*Met.* 8. 470). Analogously, when Ovid's ship is assailed by a violent storm the skipper lets her run before the wind, as a rider powerless to control his horse lets the useless bridle fall loose on its stubborn neck (*T.* 1. 4. 13). The snake supplies similes. Hercules, burnt on Oeta, puts off mortality and becomes a god, resplendent as a snake that having shed its old skin rejoices in life renewed, and shines resplendent with new scales (*Met.* 9. 266; *cp.* *Virg. Aen.* 2. 473): the tongue of Philomela, torn out by Tereus, writhes convulsively upon the ground like the tail severed from a snake (*Met.* 6. 556). A simile is drawn from the theatre. The armed men sprung from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus rise up from the ground, as when the curtain is raised from below in the Roman theatre figures of men embroidered on it rise up showing first their faces, till gradually the entire forms appear, with their feet upon the curtain's lowest edge (*Met.* 3. 111). Similes are yielded by the amphitheatre, that of the Thracian women assailing the doomed Orpheus as dogs assail a doomed stag in the amphitheatre (*Met.* 11. 25); and by the circus, that of Achilles raging against the seemingly invulnerable Cycnus like a bull against a red cloak (*Met.* 12. 102). The rainbow suggests a delicate simile. The cunningly embroidered fabrics woven by Pallas and Arachne have colours insensibly shading off one into another, as in the vast arch of a rainbow, though there are numerous bright colours, the eye cannot detect the change from each to each, so similar do the adjacent hues appear, though those at the extremities are different (*Met.* 6. 63). Sounds heard far off suggest graceful images. In the House of Rumour there is never silence, yet no loud clamour, only there are whispers of voices in low tone, like the murmur

of distant sea-waves, or the last rumblings of a thunder-storm (*Met.* 12. 49); the whispering of the people after the speech of Cipus is like the whistling of wind amid the stems of pine-trees or the sound of waves heard far away (*Met.* 15. 603).

Some similes are concerned with philosophical and physical speculations. The Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of the soul after death, which does not perish, but is destined to fresh wanderings through human or animal bodies, retaining always its own identity, is illustrated by wax, which may be shaped into various designs, yet remains the selfsame wax (*Met.* 15. 169). The phenomenon of a hill near Troezen thrown up by an earthquake is attributed, according to the theory held by Democritus and Epicurus (Zeller, *Pre-Socratic Philosophy*, ii. 253; Seneca, *N.Q.* 6. 20; Lucretius 6. 577; *Aetna* 153), to the force of winds, which, struggling for egress, swelled out the surface of the ground, as a bladder or goat's skin is inflated by the breath of the mouth (*Met.* 15. 298). Lucretius asserts that objects flying through the air are heated by velocity; thus a leaden bullet often becomes red-hot (6. 306):

plumbea saepe
fervida fit glans in cursu,

and even melts (178):

plumbea vero
glans etiam longo cursu volvenda liquescit.

From these passages are derived the simile of Mercury inflamed with love for Herse as hot as is a leaden bullet shot from a sling, which is heated by its own motion as it rushes on (*Met.* 2. 727), and that of the body of Romulus ascending to heaven to become divine, which dissolves, as a leaden bullet, when discharged from a sling, melts in the air (*Met.* 14. 824). The efficient action of wind in the formation of rain, snow, hail, and frost are expounded by Lucretius (6. 173, 495, 527). This doctrine provided Ovid with an apt simile. When Lichas is hurled through the air by Hercules he becomes petrified as he flies and is transformed into a rock, as drops of rain congeal through the chilling blasts of wind and become snow-

flakes, then whirling round condense into balls of frozen hail (*Met.* 9. 220).

The last and final development of the simile is that in which not one only but two or a series of illustrations is presented. This extended simile is found in Homer, but in Homer it is used sparingly, with the definite purpose of depicting a moving or complicated scene as vividly as the poet himself sees it. Each image marks a distinct phase, and, by the parallel drawn, enables the mind to realise clearly each phase as it succeeds. Thus when the Greek army comes from the encampment by the ships to the place of assembly (*Il.* 2. 455-476), as the fighting men advance in glittering armour the poet compares its gleam to that of a devouring forest fire; as they hasten noisily on they are compared to the noisy flight of birds, geese or cranes or swans on the wing; as they stand assembled in their multitude, to multitudinous leaves or flowers; as they are excited and eager for battle, to a mass of restless flies buzzing hither and thither; as they are marshalled in orderly ranks by their captains, to goats distributed by the herdsmen into orderly flocks. Here the workmanship is masterly; every image has a definite point. But with Ovid it is different. His luxuriant fancy riots in the agglomeration of images, beautiful enough, but lacking the concentrated emphasis of the Greek epic poet. His concern is not so much with the appropriateness of each image, as with the effect he can produce by the mere power of numbers. He assails and captures the attention by processions of comparisons. It is all very ingenious, but is apt to become wearisome through mere repetition. As these complicated comparisons are regulated by no particular logical arrangement they may be set forth in the poet's own random manner. Oenone finds Paris more unstable than dry leaves fluttering in the shifting breeze, or than the tips of wheat-ears, parched by constant sunshine (*H.* 5. 109). When he strikes his lady in a lovers' quarrel, she trembles like poplar leaves or reeds quivering in the wind, her tears flow like water trickling from melting snow (*Am.* 1. 7. 53). Ariadne dismayed at the approach of Bacchus trembles

like ears of corn shaken by wind or reeds vibrating in an oozy pond (*A.A.* 1. 553). His lady's blush resembles the sky reddening at dawn or a maiden reddening at the sight of the lad to whom she is betrothed, or roses set among lilies, or the moon reddening in eclipse, or red-dyed Assyrian ivory (*Am.* 2. 5. 35). The hue of Procris' cheeks pale for fear is like that of the latest-gathered grapes, or autumn leaves nipped by approaching winter, or quinces, or unripe wild cherries (*A.A.* 3. 703). At Rome fair ladies are as numerous as the corn-crops of Gargara, or grapes of Methymna, or fishes in the sea, or birds amid the trees, or stars in the sky (*A.A.* 1. 57); when they crowd to the public spectacles they are as numerous as the ants that march in long procession carrying food in their mouths, or as bees amid the flowery fields and fragrant wild thyme (*A.A.* 1. 93); their characters are as various as the material forms in the world, the lover who would succeed must adapt himself to each, a very Proteus transformed now into running water, now into a lion, now a tree, and now a wild boar; he must shift his devices like the fisherman, who now spears, now hooks, now nets his fish (*A.A.* 1. 759). Daphne flies in fear from Apollo like a lamb from a wolf, a deer from a lion, pigeons from an eagle (*Met.* 1. 505); Hesperia from Aesacus like a deer from a wolf or a wild duck from a hawk (*Met.* 11. 771). Arethusa dreads Alpheus as a lamb dreads howling wolves or a hare lying hidden in a bush the pursuing hounds (*Met.* 5. 627). The poet's sorrows in exile are as countless as the grains of sand on the seashore, the fishes of the sea, the eggs of the fish, the flowers in spring, the ears of corn in summer, the fruits in autumn, the snowflakes in winter (*T.* 4. 1. 55); they are as countless as shells on the beach, roses in gardens, seeds of poppies, beasts in the forest, fishes that swim the sea, feathers of birds that beat the air (*T.* 5. 2. 23).

Such redundancy in accumulation of examples is characteristic of Ovid's riotous fancy. He employs it with special effectiveness in the song with which the monstrous uncouth Polyphemus woos the sea-nymph Galatea, a

song which is inspired by the delicate appeal of the Cyclops in Theocritus, II. 19:

'O Galatea, whiter than curdled milk, more dainty than the lamb, more skittish than the calf, more radiant than is the sheen of the unripened grape.'

On this Ovid thus enlarges:

'O Galatea, whiter than the snow-white privet's petal, more flowery than the meadows, more slender than the tall alder, more lustrous than glass, more skittish than a young kid, smoother than shells worn by the ever-plashing sea, more desirable than winter suns and summer shade, more goodly than orchard-fruits, more stately than the tall plane-tree, more sparkling than ice, sweeter than the ripe grape, softer than swan's down and curdled milk, and, if you did not flee from me, more beautiful than a well-watered garden. Yet you also, Galatea, are fiercer than untamed bullocks, harder than an aged oak, more unstable than water, tougher than willow-twigs and bryony, more immovable than these rocks, more boisterous than a torrent, vainer than the proud peacock, more cruel than fire, more spiteful than thistles, more savage than a she-bear with young, deafen than the sea, more pitiless than a snake on which a man has trod, and, what I could chiefly wish I might take from you, more nimble to escape not only than the stag pursued by baying hounds, but also than the winds and the fleeting breeze' (*Met.* 13. 789).

Ovid has been sometimes blamed for the 'tiresome' copiousness of the imagery employed in this passage. A poet of finer taste would have curbed this profusion; but he did not know when to stop. This is surely a shallow criticism. For no Latin poet could, if required, write more concisely than Ovid. In this passage the surplusage is deliberate. Here he is joking. The tale of Polyphemus is a tiny burlesque after the Hellenistic manner, introduced into his collection of strange

stories to relieve and to amuse. There is plenty of fun in Theocritus, and, in a more subdued way, in Callimachus, who describes with grim glee the dreadful hunger with which Demeter punished Erysichthon, 'whose plaguey belly was racked with twinges of emptiness the more he ate,' and to feed whom 'was like pouring the victuals in vain and gratuitously into the sea,' who devoured 'even the farm mules, and the heifer that his mother was fattening for sacrifice, and the race-horse and the war-horse, and the domestic cat' (Callimachus, *Hymn* 6. 88 ff., imitated by Ovid, *Met.* 8. 828 ff.). So here it is with Ovid. His Polyphemus is a comic figure, a giant monster. Everything with him is vast and on a vast scale. He combs his hair with a rake, and cuts his beard with a reaping-hook. His walking-stick is the trunk of a pine tree, fit to be a ship's mast. His one eye is as big as a large shield. The very pipe with which he accompanies his song is of no ordinary size. It is made not of the usual seven stems of reed, but of a hundred stems (*Met.* 13. 765 ff.). It is then evident that the gigantic accumulation of images in Polyphemus' song is in harmony with the gigantic properties and accompaniments of the love-sick monster. Ovid was an artist. He piles up his comparisons. Here he shows his keen artistic sense.

With this I leave these literary peculiarities which the reader of Ovid encounters. One thing however is certain. If Ovid's genius had been more disciplined, if he could have pruned redundancies and suppressed some passages objectionable in matter or questionable in taste, he would have been regarded as one of the world's supreme poets. He is witty, sparkling, vigorous, faultless in metre, dexterous and forceful in description, rich in imagination, and often displays genuine pathos and passion. What he lacked was austere classical reserve.

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THE GENERAL REFLECTION IN CAESAR'S COMMENTARIES.

It is an interesting fact that Caesar throws out an occasional¹ general reflection or principle in the course of his brief narrative of events. One would not pay much heed if the writer were an armchair historian of the moralising type, but every word of a man so superlatively great as Caesar deserves our attention.

Though the formula is not always the same, the scope of the remark in most cases is that such-and-such generally, as a rule, happens. Naturally the context is nearly always military in character. Yet it is possible to make a rough distinction between principles purely military and principles which are military with a wider application. There remain reflections about men in general, and two having reference to certain effects of war on finance.

On what concerns the professional soldier I should not venture to express an opinion. The Staff Colleges of every modern nation have no doubt studied Caesar attentively. But even where one would be tempted to enlarge, with the justification of *humani nil alienum*, I shall content² myself with little more than the bare record of what Caesar says, leaving the 'intelligent reader' to think his own thoughts and supply his own illustrations. My motive in writing at all is the desire simply to collect the evidence and put it before others who admire the greatest of the Romans; possibly, too, the desire to parade the *Commentaries*, which, in their way, are the finest monument that Rome has left us of her language and her character.

I take in the order of their occurrence the few military hints which Caesar has happened to put in the generalised form:

(1) *B.G.* V. 33 (Implied rather than explicit in the criticism of Cotta and Titurius for giving the order to form square from column during a critical

retreat. 'As far as possible take no action which will lessen your men's confidence and correspondingly hearten the enemy'):

Quod consilium etsi in eiusmodi casu reprehendendum non est, tamen incommode accidit: nam et nostris militibus spem minuit et hostes ad pugnam alacriores fecit . . .

(2) *B.C.* I. 44 (Commenting on the fighting methods of the Roman troops who had been long in Spain. They had adopted the irregular tactics of the Spaniards—very disconcerting to legionaries whose discipline prescribed keeping rank and remaining by the standards):

Quod fere fit quibus quisque in locis miles inveteraverit ut multum earum regionum consuetudine moveatur.

(3) *B.C.* III. 51 (On the whole commending P. Sulla for obeying orders and not following up a promising opening, though it might have led to a decisive victory):

Aliae enim sunt legati partes atque imperatoris: alter enim omnia agere ad praescriptum, alter libere ad summam rerum consulere debet.

(4) *B.C.* III. 92 (Condemning Pompey's decision at Pharsalus to keep his men steady and await Caesar's charge. In our own time Marshal Foch taught, and put into practice in the field, this doctrine of the moral advantage of initiative—attack—in battle):

Quod nobis quidem nulla ratione factum a Pompeio videtur, propterea quod est quaedam animi incitatio atque alacritas naturaliter innata omnibus quae studio pugnae incenditur. Hanc non reprimere sed augere imperatores debent . . .

I may be permitted the parenthetical remark that Caesar's account of the tactical phases of Pharsalus contrasts favourably with the obscurity which hangs over descriptions of battles by professional historians.

In the class of general rules which are military but have a wider application I place the following passages:

(1) *B.G.* III. 26 ('Victory in sight revives men's courage.' Young Crassus is attacking without avail the camp of Spanish and Aquitanian tribes. Then he finds that the rear of their camp is

¹ The actual figures are: 9 for the *Bellum Gallicum*, 16 for the *Bellum Civile*.

² Bearing in mind certain salutary words of Rice Holmes (*Conquest of Gaul*, Preface, p. xvii), and the added warning of Kalinka's two hundred and forty odd pages in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*.

not well guarded, and sends troops by a detour, who fall upon this unprotected side):

Tum vero clamore ab ea parte audito nostri redintegratis viribus, quod plerumque in spe victoriae accidere consuevit, acrius impugnare coeperunt.

(2) *B.G. V. 33* ('Not to foresee possibilities leads generally to confusion and irresolution in action.' Titurius Sabinus, against the judgment of Cotta, falls in with the treacherous advice of Ambiorix and leaves his camp. Ambiorix attacks him on the march—a possibility not visualised by Sabinus):

Tum demum Titurius, qui nihil ante providisset, trepidare et concursare cohortesque disponere, haec tamen ipsa timide atque ut eum omnia deficere viderentur: quod plerumque iis accidere consuevit qui in ipso negotio consilium capere coguntur.

(3) *B.G. VI. 30, 35; B.C. I. 21; I. 72; III. 68* (Caesar's reflections on the factor *fortuna* in human affairs, and especially in war. This subject has already been dealt with in an article by Warde Fowler in *C.R. XVII.*, pp. 152-156, where he controverts an exaggerated statement by Rice Holmes.¹ I shall only record, for what it is worth, the conclusion to which I had come quite independently, that by *fortuna* Caesar meant nothing more than the unexpected, the incalculable, happenings² which often upset the best-laid schemes.

(4) *B.G. VII. 84* ('The unknown is more alarming than the known or seen.' During the siege of Alesia, Vercassivellaunus, from outside, attacks a weak point in Caesar's double lines. Vercingetorix at the same moment sallies out from the citadel of Alesia. The Roman troops facing both ways are unnerved by the shouting they hear behind them):

Multum ad terrendos nostros valet clamor qui post tergum pugnantibus existit, quod suum periculum vident in aliena virtute constare. omnia enim plerumque quae absunt vehementius hominum mentes conturbant.

The same point elaborated, and with an added facet, is made in—

(5) *B.C. II. 4* (The Massiliots are be-

sieged by Trebonius on land and Brutus by sea. Nasidius, dispatched by Pompey, approaches unexpectedly with some warships, and sends on a message to encourage the inhabitants to another naval engagement. They equip a new fleet and sail with enthusiasm):

Communi enim fit vitio naturae ut improvisi atque incognitis rebus magis confidamus vehementiusque exterreamur: ut tum accidit. adventus enim L. Nasidieni summa spe et voluntate civitatem compleverat.

It is curious that half of this reflection is irrelevant, viz. the fear occasioned by the unforeseen and unknown. It shows the tendency of a mind which is reaching out to formulate general rules with completeness.

(6) *B.C. I. 85* (In reply to Afranius' speech on surrendering):

Accidisse igitur his, quod plerumque hominibus nimia pertinacia atque arrogantia accidere soleat, uti eo recurrant et id cupidissime petant quod paulo ante contempserint.

They had refused terms, now they beg for them.

(7) *B.C. II. 41* (How men behave at the point of death. In Africa Curio and his men, drawn out into the desert, are worn down by the attack-and-retreat tactics of Numidian cavalry, and at length despair):

Hi de sua salute desperantes, ut extremo vitae tempore homines facere consueverunt, aut suam mortem miserabantur aut parentis suos commendabant, si quos ex eo periculo fortuna servare potuisset.

The odd thing is that Caesar was not present. It is not as if he were recalling something he had seen and adding his comment. His account of the campaign of Curio must have been based entirely on the report of eyewitnesses—presumably cavalry officers who escaped. We do not expect Caesar to add picturesque detail, like the Gilbertian worthy, merely with the object of giving 'verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative.' Here is a problem which I merely raise.

(8) *B.C. III. 36* (How rumour exaggerates news. Caesar's own words will indicate the context):

Eodemque tempore Domitius in Macedoniam venit et cum ad eum frequentes civitatum legationes convenire coepissent nuntiatum est adesce Scipionem cum legionibus, magna

¹ See *Conquest of Gaul*, second edition, note 3, p. 41.

² John Buchan's Rede Lecture (Cambridge University Press, 1930) illustrated just this 'accidental' or 'casual' element in history.

opinione et fama omnium : nam plerumque in novitate rem fama antecellit.

The six generalisations whose application is as wide as human nature are these :

B.G. I. 14 (It would be unsafe to interpret this sentiment as a personal conviction of Caesar's, because it serves the politic purpose of impressing the boastful and minatory Divico) :

Consuesse enim deos immortales quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere ulcisci velint his secundoiores interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere.

B.G. III. 18 ('Men believe what they want to believe.' To show how the Northern allies of the Veneti were induced to attack Sabinus, who wished them to do so under an impression that he was afraid of them) :

Quod fere libenter homines id quod volunt credunt.

Again in *B.C.* II. 27 the same idea is expressed—*nam quae volumus et credimus libenter*—coupled with another—*et quae sentimus ipsi reliquos sentire speramus*.

B.G. VII. 26 ('Fear is inconsistent with pity.' The Gallic garrison in Avaricum, hard pressed, decide to break out from the town and join Vercingetorix, abandoning their families to their fate. The women-folk expose the plan to the Romans when they find that entreaties are vain) :

Quod plerumque in summo periculo timor misericordiam non recipit.

An observation like this does suggest a mind reflecting on human nature.

B.C. II. 8 (During the siege of Masilia the invention of a high 'tabulated' tower to serve a special purpose occasions the parenthetical) :

Ut est rerum omnium magister usus.

B.C. II. 39 ('Men tend to self-glorification.' Curio's cavalry had rather exaggerated their success over Numidian horse) :

Ut de suis homines laudibus libenter praedicant.

B.C. III. 104 (The sombre reflection that friends become enemies in disaster—prompted by Pompey's melancholy fate in Egypt) :

Sive despecta eius fortuna, ut plerumque in calamitate ex amicis inimici existunt.

Finally I group together *B.G.* VI. 14, *B.C.* III. 1, *B.C.* III. 32. The first is a comment on the Druidical rule not to commit their doctrine to writing :

Quod fere perisque accidit ut praesidio litterarum diligentiam in perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant.

The context of the second is Caesar's measures, as dictator in 49 B.C., to allay the fear of cancellation of debts :

Qui (timor novarum tabularum) fere bella et civiles dissensiones sequi consuevit.

The third springs out of the description of Scipio's high-handed method of requisitioning cash from the inhabitants of Asia :

Accedebant ad haec gravissimae usurae, quod in bello plerumque accidere consuevit.

This brief tabulation does not pretend to do more than draw attention to a feature of the *Commentaries* which I feel must be of interest to others besides myself.

There is a further question to which I shall only allude. It may or may not have been considered before. Did the authors of *B.G.* VIII., the *Bellum Alexandrinum*, the *Bellum Africae*, and the *Bellum Hispaniense* imitate Caesar in this tendency to parenthetical generalisations ?

In *B.G.* VIII. there are two instances, but purely military and not of much importance: *Cap.* 12 and *Cap.* 18. In the *Bellum Alexandrinum* we seem to see a deliberate attempt to reproduce Caesar's manner.

Cap. 18 :

Sed terror hominibus mentem consiliumque eripit et membra debilitat : ut tum accidit.

Cap. 25 :

At fortuna quae plerumque eos quos plurimis beneficiis ornavit ad duriorem casum reservat, superiorum temporum dissimilis Euphranorem prosequabatur.

This is noteworthy when compared with Caesar's warning to Divico in *B.G.* I. 14. *Fortuna* is here definitely personified, and the idea of retribution is absent.

Cap. 62 :

Namque ut in civilibus dissensionibus accidere consuevit ita temporibus illis in Hispania nonnullae civitates rebus Cassii studebant, plures Marcellum fovebant.

There is an air of foolish obviousness about this generalisation, which might imply a writer who thought it proper to imitate the master's style, and failed for lack of *corcillum*.

The *Bellum Africae* and *Bellum Hispaniense* show nothing similar.

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THE BURIAL OF POLYNEICES.

IN the prologue of the *Antigone* Ismene points out to her sister that, after all, Polyneices cannot be buried if Creon remains firm in his resolve: 'ἀμυγχανών ἐρᾶς,' she says (v. 90).¹ To this Antigone merely replies: 'οὐκοῦν, ὅταν δὴ μὴ σθένω, πεπαύσομαι.' She does not deny the impossibility. As a matter of fact, we are soon to see that the rite was performed by virtue of assistance from the gods.

A Guard, in the first episode, tells the King that his edict has already been disobeyed. Mark the note of mystery in the man's story, vv. 249-258. How, when, and by whom has the body received its covering of fine dust, a covering so complete as to render it quite invisible—ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἠφάνιστο? 'Πᾶσι θαῦμα δυσχερὲς παρήν,' says the Guard: 'It was a mystery to us all.' Moreover, neither bird nor dog has visited the corpse. In view of the sequel, it may even be suggested that on this first occasion the burial was not the work of Antigone at all; in any event, there is something here of the miraculous.

If this be thought mere fancy, it is a fancy that struck the Chorus-leader (vv. 278-9):

ἄναξ, ἐμοὶ τοι, μὴ τι καὶ θεῖσ' ἔλατον
τοῦργον τόδ', ἢ ξύννοια βουλευέει πάλαϊ.

The idea has apparently been taking form in his mind throughout the Guard's narrative, and its significance cannot have been missed by the audience.

Notice, again, the words of the Chorus when, after the next ode, they see Antigone being brought in as a prisoner (v. 376): 'ἐξ δαιμόνιον τέρας ἀμφινοῶ τόδε.' And follow the Guard's account of her capture (vv. 415 ff.): the day was sunny and hot; then, out of

that clear sky, there came a sudden windstorm, an οὐράνιον ἄχος, choking the very air, so that the watchers closed their eyes; and when they opened them again after this θεία νόσος had passed, there, where none stood previously, stood Antigone. Why this extraordinary storm, the abnormal form of which the poet is at pains to emphasise, if it is not a divine intervention to enable Antigone to perform the humanly impossible? And the soldiers let her carry out the rites; then, apparently recovering themselves, they seize her—οὐδὲν ἐκπεπληγμένην, as if in a trance. She comes in the storm; she is all but an automaton: it is evident, surely, that the gods intend this thing to happen.

If that be so, what is their purpose? I suggest that they are bringing about not only Antigone's doom, but also that of Creon: they mean to confront the King with the test that comes to all men who show ὕβρις. For Creon's fatal test comes when Antigone is set before him as the violator of his edict. He must choose between that edict and the life of his niece. That is a position familiar enough to Athenian audiences: Agamemnon, we remember, had to choose between his sworn allies and the life of his daughter. And, as Agamemnon chooses wrongly, so does Creon. 'Your authority,' Antigone says to him, 'is insufficient; the laws of the Gods Olympian and Chthonian have precedence.' The King yields not to the gods but to his ὕβρις, very much as Agamemnon puts himself above the gods when he treads the carpets. Thereby, to an audience well acquainted with the Ate-motif, he makes himself Ate's victim.

However that may be, divine intervention seems clear. For a similar manifestation of supernatural agency,

¹ Attention is drawn to this impossibility by G. Norwood, *Greek Tragedy*, p. 140.

see the narrative of the *ἐξάγγελος* in *Oedipus Tyrannus*, vv. 1258 ff.:

λυσσῶντι δ' αὐτῷ δαίμονων δεικνυσί τις·
οὐδὲς γὰρ ἀνδρῶν οἱ παρήμεν ἐγγύθεν.
δεῖνόν δ' αἶσας, ὥς ὑφ' ἡγήτοῦ τινος
πύλαις διπλῆς ἐνέηλατ'.

(Here, too, the significance is sometimes overlooked. Whether the *δαίμων* in question is the *δαίμων* of the House of Laius, or Apollo himself, this points to Sophocles' explanation of the self-

blinding of Oedipus. The prophet of Apollo has foretold it; it shall come to pass; and Oedipus is led to it by 'a power above man,' as Jebb deftly renders the word. It is true that, as distinguished from the parricide and incest, this act is *ἐκόν*; but, as vv. 1329-31 clearly indicate, the ultimate responsibility rests with the Delphic God.)

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BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on classical studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * Excerpts or extracts from periodicals and collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

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